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6 April 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE

No. 1047

DKP FIFTH PARTY CONGRESS,  
COMMUNIQUE, AND PROGRAMS

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### DKP FIFTH PARTY CONGRESS, COMMUNIQUE, AND PROGRAMS

Duesseldorf UNSERE ZEIT in German 3 Mar 77 pp 5-43 of supplement

[Text] Communique of Fifth DKP Party Leadership Group Meeting

The Fifth DKP Party Leadership Group Meeting took place in Duesseldorf on 26/27 February 1977. It dealt with the experiences of the increasing extra-parliamentary mass struggle of recent weeks and months, with the struggle against shifting the burden of the crisis on the working people. The party leadership group was concerned with the situation of the working class in the factories and the tasks of the DKP factory groups, the tasks of the party in view of the rising anticommunist campaign of vilification mounted by the ruling and reigning forces in our country.

Hermann Gautier, deputy chairman of the DKP, presented the report to the Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting. Werner Cieslak, secretary to the party leadership group, spoke on the topic: "The situation of the working class in the factories, the tasks of the party to strengthen the factory groups." Both the report and the position paper were approved by the party leadership group. The party leadership group resolved to make the position paper the basis of the work of leadership groups and all other groups, in order to strengthen the party's factory groups.

The Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting appointed a commission, headed by Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP, to prepare a draft program for the German Communist Party.

Concluding the Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting, the party leadership group appealed to all members and friends of the DKP, all basic organizations and leadership groups, to prepare with enthusiasm and elan, with fantasy and clever ideas the festival of the workers press--UNSERE ZEIT popular festival 1977, to be held from 1-3 July in the mining city of Recklinghausen.

Thirty-two comrades took the floor in the discussion.

Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP, gave the concluding address.

Report by the Presidium and Secretariat of the Party Leadership Group to the Fifth Meeting of the Party Leadership Group. Reporter: Hermann Gautier, deputy DKP chairman

Comrades:

We have had confirmation of the appraisal made at the Fourth Meeting of our party leadership group, that the class conflict in the Federal Republic would become more acute once the Bundestag elections were over. Neither the ruling forces nor the Bonn parties have any constructive answers to the long lasting capitalist crisis. On the contrary. They intend even more drastically to dismantle the social achievements scored by the workers and their labor unions in many years of struggle. They increase their attacks on democratic rights and liberties. They raise the anticommunist agitation against detente, peace and cooperation.

In the period under review the presidium and secretariat of the party leadership group endeavored to orient the entire party to those arenas of the class conflict, which were emphasized at the Fourth Party Leadership Group Meeting.

We drew attention to the struggle against mass and permanent unemployment as well as short time, for the provision of jobs and apprenticeship places, for raising the purchasing power of the masses by higher wages and salaries, for the right to education and vocational training.

We oriented to the struggle for the defense and expansion of social achievements, against pension cuts, against curtailment of the health services, against the dismantling of social services, for the defense of democratic rights and liberties, against the employment bans, against violations of human rights. We oriented to the struggle for detente, for an end to the arms race, for disarmament.

At the Fourth Party Leadership Group Meeting we emphasized that the extra-parliamentary struggle would gain in importance after the Bundestag elections, that resistance would increase against the policy of the Bonn parties which aim to shift all burdens onto the masses. This prediction has been confirmed. Extra-parliamentary actions are on the rise.

That is demonstrated by the actions of blue and white collar workers in defense of jobs, the actions of young workers for apprenticeship and training places, the actions of high school and university students, parents and teachers against the wretched educational system, the increasing citizens initiatives against the disregard of security and the citizens explicit wishes regarding the construction of nuclear power plants. It is demonstrated by the effective public protests against pension cuts, the growing and spreading movement for the defense of democratic rights and liberties, against employment bans, against the violations of human rights in our country.

In view of the changed world balance of power, the constant upward movement in the socialist countries and the continuing deterioration of capitalism as a result of the general crisis, in view of the increasing extra-parliamentary struggle in our country we see new contradictions erupting in and between the Bonn parties, and we also see these conflicts becoming steadily more acute.

Despite agreement on the basics, different opinions and attitudes are emerging about the method of shifting the burdens of the capitalist crisis onto the working people, how our rulers and governors are to meet the rising democratic protest evidenced in citizens initiatives, the struggles of young people and students, and how the Federal Republic is to react to the advance of detente.

Following the Bundestag elections the parliamentary balance of power has become even less stable. We see that in the disputes between CDU and CSU, between SPD and FDP. We have fully explained our attitude to these conflicts at the organizational seminar of our party. We have emphasized that the conflicts arising from the change in the parliamentary balance of power in favor of this or that coalition have by no means been finally settled.

We have always carefully watched the different attitudes, the continuing differences of opinion in and between the Bonn parties, and will go on doing so.

But, despite all differences and conflicts in Bonn, the government declaration and the ensuing debate show that the ruling circles of our country and the leaders of the Bonn parties are constantly moving closer to one another with respect to crucial problems. All of them aim to shift the burdens of the capitalist crisis onto the working people. All of them strive to raise the profits of monopoly capital, to defend and expand the large capitalist power and property relationships. All of them proceed to dismantle our democratic rights and use employment bans. All Bonn parties advocate the reinforcement of the aggressive NATO Bloc and of rearmament, even closer links between our country and American imperialism, greater emphasis on the leadership claim of FRG imperialism in the political, economic and military concerns of the capitalist part of Europe. All of them work for the expansion of the influence exerted by West German big capital in the "Third World."

For the Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting we assumed the task of evaluating the experiences of the rising extra-parliamentary mass struggles of recent weeks and months. That is all the more important, because mass movements are on the march in all social sectors and greater challenges to our party the consequence.

At this meeting of the party leadership group we also intend to examine how the party stood up to the demands of the increased ideological conflict and advanced despite the growing anticommunist pressure. In addition we want to

discuss the status of the work of factory groups, the new elements to be considered and what conclusions are to be drawn.

We reaffirm the statements made at the Bonn Party Congress, the orientation of the Fourth Party Leadership Group Meeting and the future planning by presidium and secretariat for 1977, to the effect that championship of the social and democratic interests of the working people, the reinforcement and extension of the mass influence of our party continues our key task in the interest of the development of the democratic struggle.

For the Defense of the Social and Economic Interests of Working People and Juveniles, Against the Shift Onto Them of the Burden of the Crisis

Immediately after the Bundestag elections and before the new Federal Government was even constituted, we saw the start of the massive breach of the Bonn parties electoral promises, coupled with a full-scale attack on the social achievements of the people.

No previous Bundestag elections have been followed by such a crass betrayal of the voters immediately after the Bonn parties had harvested their votes. Never before also has the extra-parliamentary movement gained such immediate momentum after an election as it did in 1976/1977.

The Fourth Party Leadership Group Meeting underlined the main orientation of our party to the working class, working and studying juveniles, unity of action and broad alliances in the interest of the working people.

At this time we confidently assert: Sections of the working population of our country, substantial sections of working and studying juveniles are beginning a common struggle to defend themselves against being made to carry the burdens imposed by the crisis, the consequences of the obviously long lasting capitalist crisis. By our constructive policy the work of our party members and functionaries, we have made a considerable contribution to the development of this extra-parliamentary activism.

Effective Measures Against Mass Unemployment

Continuing mass unemployment is one of the main problems confronting working people. Another is the growing concern about the loss of more jobs yet. In January last 1.3 million people were registered as unemployed or on short time. Mainly affected are women, juveniles and older employees. The capitalist system is demonstrably incapable of guaranteeing jobs and bread to all blue and white collar workers.

Counter to all earlier forecasts permanent unemployment is now a common occurrence in capitalism. It amounts to a sneer at working people for capitalist business institutes, such as the Institute of the German Economy, to announce that the figure of 1 million unemployed will be more or less permanent and, on top of this, praise it as a success of the official market economic policy.

Steadily rising output is achieved by fewer and fewer blue and white collar workers. Big capital uses the crisis to increase exploitation. Last year the metal employers achieved an approximately 7.5 percent rise in output. At the same time the manpower figures for this industry declined by some 3 percent. Since 1970 the numbers of employees in that industry has shrunk from 10.2 million to 8.6 million. That is what these figures mean: Every sixth job, more than 1.5 million, have been rationalized out of the industry.

It is true that the leaders of the Bonn parties have repeatedly declared unemployment to be the No 1 problem. Yet their actual policy of encouraging corporate profits as the alleged prerequisite for increased investments contributes to the steady rise in the abolition of jobs.

The working people and the young generation of our country need effective measures against mass unemployment, for the provision of jobs. That is why we welcome labor union proposals for longer vacations and shorter work weeks. These union proposals are in the interest of millions of working people. The employers federations and their political spokesmen are receiving them with every conceivable opposition, threats and calumnies.

In recent weeks and months the DGB chairman and other labor union representatives have made most pertinent remarks about the capitalist exploitative system, the policy of the Federal Government, the necessity to fight for higher wages and salaries, the defense of mass purchasing power and the necessity for enforcing codetermination. Suggestions for shorter work weeks, either by legislative action or negotiations, respond to many demands from factory personnel for a broad discussion in the labor unions and the public.

We must protest, however, Heinz Oskar Vetter's suggestion for coupling the shorter work week with a possible cut in wages. Labor unions and employees have vigorously rejected this concept.

We do favor "tentative suggestions" and varied considerations in the fight against unemployment. But no decline in mass unemployment would result from shortening the work week without full wage equalization. On the contrary such a procedure would further restrict mass purchasing power and once more throttle back demand. As a result sales would decline even more, and the contradiction between production and purchasing power, between output and demand increase further.

Imperative are resolute measures to shorten the work week and provide jobs, especially in the public sector. Only a shorter work week with full wage equalization can help stem mass unemployment.

We communists have constructive proposals to offer in the fight against mass unemployment. Our proposals "for more security and the expansion of jobs, for the vital rights of the unemployed" and the presidium's announced attitude at the beginning of this year incorporate the alternatives on which we



will focus with respect to the class conflicts in the coming months, the discussions in factories and labor unions--in the interest of the working people.

In UNSERE ZEIT and our factory newspapers we have dealt with the fight against mass unemployment, for the provision of jobs as a priority task. We have evidence of the fact that our orientation is correct and finds increasing acceptance among workers and employees, working and studying juveniles: More and more other social forces, labor unions, Young Socialists, Young Democrats and others are adopting our concepts and proposals in the fight against mass unemployment and the decline in real wages, for the maintenance of purchasing power. Further evidence is provided by the slogans and demands of the many actions in the defense of jobs such as the powerful demonstration of the IG [industrial labor union] Metal in Hamburg.

#### Fight for Higher Wages, Increase in Purchasing Power

The fight against mass unemployment and for the maintenance of mass incomes is a comprehensive task. It incorporates the fight against rising prices, excessive rents, new tax burdens and increases in tariffs and fees. In the period under review our party actively contributed to the development of many actions and initiatives for the defense of the standard of living. Our party has shown great initiative in the development of tenants actions against rent increases, in red-point actions against the inflation of commuter fares, in the ongoing action "job saving and price stop."

Yet the fight for higher wages and salaries, for an active wages policy is by far the most important factor for assuring the standard of living of working people and helping to raise mass purchasing power.

We reject the attempts of big capital and the Federal Government to tie labor union wages policy to state guidelines, the criterion of forecasts of future economic development. Disregarding the fact that uncertainty is the only certain forecast in the capitalist system, these practices serve to deflect attention from the fact that in 1975 and 1976 the blue and white collar workers restraint in the matter of wage demands enabled big capital to achieve greater profits.

Even bourgeois economic institutes such as the Munich Ifo Institute must admit that profits are rising much faster than wages and salaries. In most industries the proportion of wages and salaries in 1976 turnover was lower than in the previous years. This means that big capital appropriates an increasing share of the produced values at the expense of blue and white collar workers. To perpetuate and expand this development is the strategic aim of the employers federations in the current round of wage negotiations. They threaten the abolition, the rationalization of further jobs unless their demands for a decline in real wages are met.

Now we see our party's predictions come true: By shifting the burden of the crisis the monopolies aim at a long-term change of the distribution ratios in their favor. They openly propagate the correction of the achievements attained by the workers and their labor unions. They do this with the support of the Federal Government, the Bundesbank, the capitalist research institutes and the bourgeois mass media.

On the other hand we see an increasing readiness in factories and labor unions actively to advocate the defense of (and indeed increase in) real wages and to resolutely resist the attacks of the employers. The critical discussions of the steel workers regarding the 5.4 percent settlement, for example, resulted in greater demands in the metal processing industries.

Nevertheless there is a gap in the metal industry also between the demands of the tariff commissions and those of many factory staffs, shop steward bodies and delegate meetings. The latter in fact called for wage and salary raises ranging from 11-13 percent.

Many blue and white collar workers in the enterprises of the metal industry are now noticing that the standard wage agreement of 6.9 percent is inadequate and actually means a decline in real wages, because it does not cover the cost of inflation, higher fees and tariffs, new tax burdens and the rise in productivity. This standard wage contract cannot, therefore, be used as a guideline for standard wage negotiations in the public service, the railroads and the postal services or other industries.

While blue and white collar workers in the metal industry have definitely got the short end of the stick by this wage contract, the corporate bosses can record a positive improvement. Siemens now pays a 16 percent dividend; stockholders in BMW and Daimler-Benz recorded an increase in profits of 20 and 40 percent respectively; the American stockholders in the Ruesselsheim Opel works as much as 500 percent. Reports of the profit explosion demonstrate that the bosses are well able to pay. There is always more to be gotten if the fighting strength of the workers is brought to bear.

#### Defense Against the Attack on the Social Status

For years past the leaders of the Bonn parties have informed all and sundry that the Federal Republic is a country with a sound "network of social security." Before the Bundestag elections they promised that there would be no social dismantling, no cuts in the social or health care systems. But immediately after the elections they let the cat out of the bag. Now they are attempting to mislead us by describing their large-scale attack on the social status quo as "measures to secure and further organize the pension and sickness insurance law." In fact these terms hide a cut in pensions and drastic reductions in the health care system. All Bonn parties are agreed, despite differences as to how these cuts are to be made, that pensions must be reduced and the health services drastically curtailed. At the same time insurance contributions are to rise.

All of us are well aware that violent disputes arose immediately after the Bundestag elections, in connection with varied social-reactionary dismantling plans and models in the future organization of the pension and sickness insurance schemes. Public protests succeeded insofar as the rise in pensions, already given up for lost, was finally set to take effect on 1 July 1977. We are still left, however, with a complete package of plan for curtailment as per three voluminous draft bills to be dealt with by the Bundestag very soon. Even experts have difficulty in making sense of these incoherent plans. Only one thing is perfectly clear: The Bonn draft legislation as a whole aims at drastic cuts in pensions for senior citizens and other recipients as well as for war victims. They are also designed dramatically to curtail health services. The Bonn plans amount to new increases in contributions payable to unemployment and sickness insurance, that is even larger deductions from wages and salaries. The next cost-of-living increase in pensions is to be postponed for 6 months. That will cost the pensioners DM6.5 billion. Furthermore cost of living increases will in future match the rise in net wages, which is much smaller than that in gross wages which used to be the legal basis. Similar attacks on the health services are imminent. To cite only some of the plans: The supply of medications and hospital intreatment is to further deteriorate, prescription charges increase, and pension insurance subsidies to the sickness insurance scheme cut from the present 17 percent to about 12 percent. That will impose an additional burden of DM6 billion per annum on the health insurance fund. The result will be further rises in contribution payments.

We say: The plans for dismantling the social services published by the Federal Government are supported by the CDU and CSU, by Strauss and Katzer. What they amount to is this: After paying contributions to the pension and health insurance funds for many years, the working people who have acquired a claim to proper pensions and health care benefits will in future be made to carry even more of the burdens imposed by the capitalist crisis. At the same time the Bonn party leaders are agreed not to touch the gigantic profits of the pharmaceutical corporations.

We say: The reorganization of the pension and health insurance systems must adopt different methods. The Federal Government must meet its financial obligations toward the pension insurance fund and immediately pay the subsidies now suspended. Recipients of social insurance payments must be granted inflation equalization. Legislative measures must obligate monopoly capital (which earns immense profits despite the crisis) to pay a special levy to safeguard pensions and health services.

Our party will continue resolutely to champion the full assurance of pensions, oppose all plans to curtail the health service, to impose even greater burdens on the working people. We will stress our "proposals for senior citizens" and our "proposals for a socialist health service" as constructive alternatives in the debate about safeguarding the pension and health insurance schemes.

## Acting Even More Decisively as Representatives of the Interests of Youth

The situation of our young people in factories and offices, schools and advanced schools as well as the growing problems of the educational system represent a giant accusation of the capitalist exploiter system.

Some facts of the matter:

Ever since 1974 some 400,000 juveniles subject to mandatory vocational training have been unable to obtain apprenticeship places. In the next decade it is expected that more than 2 million school leavers will be unable to get any vocational training in factories, full-time vocational schools or advanced schools.

In the winter semester 1976/1977 the central agency for university admissions rejected some 60,000 qualified applicants. Only 70 percent of applicants were able to enter the universities. On the basis of the proposed outline legislation for advanced schools the number of freshmen admissions, currently some 23 percent, is to decline even more.

Baden-Wuerttemberg and other federal Laender reported plans for the radical diminution of advanced school capacities. If undergraduate places are curtailed, tens of thousands of jobs at the universities will also be endangered. The scandalous cuts in jobs and admissions to teacher training colleges--especially when considered against the background of the simultaneous shortage of teachers--perfectly illustrate the lack of proper planning for an educational policy dependent on monopoly profits.

The dismantling of democratic and social rights, the deterioration in the situation of the young--all these represent a challenge to the young, to all political forces and to us communists. The ruling circles increasingly fear the greater militancy of the young. The mass media worriedly ask the question whether a new "youth revolt" or a new "student rebellion" is to be expected.

Though we must not disregard a certain disappointment with unfulfilled reform promises, nor a certain fearfulness, depoliticization and apathy, the young people of our country are in fact very considerably involved with the rise of extraparliamentary actions. The progressive youth movement has strengthened its status in factories, schools and universities. The common actions by young communists, socialists and social democrats have increased. Their alliance with other youth movements has developed. New sections have become involved in the struggle.

Last year some 400,000 high school students, parents and teachers participated in strikes and demonstrations against the poor educational situation and for democratic educational reform.

In the VDS [Association of German University Student Organizations] week of action last November/December 1976, for example, 300,000 students at advanced technical schools and universities protested the advanced school outline legislation and the extremely low rates of the Federal law for the advancement of education.

Our Fourth Party Leadership Group Meeting had forecast that the conflict about youth rights, especially for democratic education and professional training, would become more acute. Time has proven us right. The many actions are not without effect. All political forces are now confronted with the demands of youths, parents, instructors and teachers.

Our party faces the task even more persuasively and effectively to present to the public its alternative in the matter of education and professional training. In many points the educational proposals and immediate demands submitted by the DKP respond to the general demands voiced in the various actions. We have presented our proposals in the interest of youth in UNSERE ZEITUNG, the DKP REPORT, special wall newspapers and many leaflets and election material, the week of the DKP and on many other occasions.

The DKP has always stood firmly at the side of youth and will continue to do so. The most recent example is the protest action of DKP candidates in the Hesse municipal elections, against the machinations of the Frankfurt corporations Hoechst, Siemens, Telefonbau and Normalzeit as well as of the Federal Postal Services, all aimed at dismissing 300 juveniles at the end of their apprenticeship period. The DKP is the only party which intends to compel the corporations to train and subsequently employ young people.

We consider it particularly important for the associations closely allied with our party to be fundamentally involved with the actions of young people. These associations are the SDAJ [Socialist German Workers Youth] and the Spartacus MSB [Marxist Student Federation]. That involvement was emphasized at the Fifth Federal Congress of the SDAJ in Frankfurt and the Cologne Congress of the Spartacus MSB, held on the occasion of its fifth anniversary.

We continue to support the Spartacus MSB's struggle for the political and social interests of students, we support the SDAJ in their struggle for the interest of working youth carried on in the campaign "action for our future" resolved upon at their Federal Congress in Frankfurt. Of course we are also aiding and assisting the socialist Young Pioneers children's organization which will commemorate the third anniversary of successful activism next March at its Second Federal Conference and establish new targets and tasks for the children's organization.

The plans of operation show that many party groups do their best to help the SDAJ, the Spartacus MSB and the Young Pioneers. At the same time we are fully aware that deficiencies and weaknesses persist. We must continue to struggle for the implementation of the principle that SDAJ groups must be established wherever we have DKP neighborhood groups. At this meeting of

the party leadership group we emphasize the duty of all groups, kreises and leadership groups to act even more resolutely and consistently as representatives of the interests of young people and to work for the expansion of our party's influence among the young generation and recruit increasing sections of young people for the struggle against big capital, for peace and socialism.

For Broad Based Alliances in the Fight for Democratic Rights and Liberties,  
for Detente, Disarmament and International Solidarity

At the Fourth Party Group Leadership Meeting we emphasized that broad based democratic alliances are developing in the struggle for the defense of democratic rights and liberties, for the citizens codetermination in public affairs, in the struggle for detente and disarmament. That has been confirmed in the period under review. We are now confronted with a new stage in the development of citizens initiatives for the defense of democracy, the protection of the environment, for detente and disarmament. The democratic movement joins communists and social democrats, Christians and liberals.

Blue and white collar workers, farmers and artisans, high school and university students, representatives of working and studying youth as well as responsible scientists cooperate in the democratic citizens initiatives.

The DKP Reaffirms: An End to the Employment Bans!

The movement against employment bans has involved millions of people in our country and many neighboring countries. We communists have done our bit to strengthen and broaden the front of democrats. At the same time we honor the contribution of other democratic forces to the impressive upsurge of the democratic movement against the employment bans.

Let us recall the successful week of action against the employment bans organized last December. We retain the impression of the powerful demonstrations on the occasion (last January) of the fifth anniversary of the so-called minister presidents decree. More than 100,000 democrats (an unprecedented multitude) assembled in Frankfurt, Duesseldorf, Hamburg and many other cities and communities of our country for actions against the employment bans. Even official SPD and FDP representatives now find themselves compelled to join the massive protest against the unconstitutional practice of employment bans, against spying on political attitudes and restrictions on the freedom of opinion.

The advocates of the employment bans have been compelled to change their tack as a result of the democratic movement. Nevertheless we see from Chancellor Schmidt's Government message and the ensuing Bundestag debate that the leaders of the Bonn parties and the Federal Government aim to go on dismantling democratic rights in our country.

The employment bans directly affect 3,000 communists and other democrats, socialists and liberals. More than 1 million of employees and applicants for public service were subjected to unconstitutional investigations of their political opinions. Spying and surveillance of democratic citizens by the unconstitutional defense agency, the so-called plant guard service in corporate factories and private detective agencies has ballooned to such an extent that concern about the Federal Republic's progress toward an authoritarian police state involves increasingly wide circles.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the so-called minister presidents decree we reaffirm our demands in this following statement as well as at an international press conference in Bonn:

An end to the employment bans.

An end to the unconstitutional spying on white and blue collar workers in factories and offices.

An end to the surveillance and spying on students in universities and high schools.

An end to the surveillance of trade unionists and works councils.

For freedom on the job and democracy in the plant.

-- These are and will continue topical demands of our struggle.

#### We Are Warning Against Anticommunist Maneuvers

We note the growing public disquiet about the dismantling of democratic rights, the increasing common struggle of communists, social democrats, liberals and Christians for the defense of democracy and the progressive attempts of the ultra-right, the Springer press and right social democrat leaders to infiltrate and split the broad front of democrats. As has always been the case, anticommunism is their main tool.

At the same time we must contend with attempts to introduce matters and problems into the actions against the employment bans, which have nothing whatsoever to do with the struggle against these bans in the Federal Republic. We entirely agree with those farsighted democrats who maintain that the struggle against the employment bans is solely concerned with measures to defend democracy, oppose the violation of human rights in the Federal Republic and advance the further development of solidarity with the victims of the employment bans.

We appeal to all those who are serious about democracy, freedom and human rights in our country, asking them to guard against anticommunist maneuvers. Anyone succumbing to anticommunist pressure damages the common struggle and also injures his own basic interests as a democrat, socialist, liberal or Christian.

From this Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting we appeal once again to all democrats, to all antifascists in our country and ask them to join us in defending the democratic rights and principles of the constitution, together advocate respect for constitutional and human rights in the Federal Republic, cooperative in working for the observance of the obligations incurred by the Federal Republic upon signature of the final Helsinki communique and its accession to the United Nations Organization.

The struggle against the unconstitutional employment bans is part of the struggle against the violation of constitutional and human rights in our country. The social reality in the Federal Republic grossly contradicts the principles enunciated in the Constitution, the U.N. Charter of Human Rights and the Helsinki communique. The same people who prattle of human rights and show so much enthusiasm for the so-called dissidents in the socialist countries act as the enemies of the most elementary freedoms and constitutional rights in their own country.

In our country the most elementary human rights still await implementation: The right to work, the right to education and professional training, equal rights for women, the right freely to choose a profession, free access to public offices, the right to freedom in education and science, to freedom of opinion, press and information.

The Presidium has therefore resolved in the very near future to join other democratic forces for the purpose of adopting new initiatives for the defense of human rights in our country.

#### For an Antimonopolist and National Energy Policy

In recent weeks we have seen a major debate between sections of the people and big capital and its government representatives in the Federation and the Laender. This was in connection with the construction of nuclear power plants, especially near Brokdorf on the Lower Elbe.

The dangerous breakdowns in Gundremmingen, the occurrence of defects in the Biblis nuclear power plant and other such plants fully justify the concern of the people about the lack of safety precautions in the construction and operation of nuclear power plants.

The fight against the Brokdorf nuclear power plant, the experiences gained in the conflict about the Wyhl nuclear power plant, the resistance against the nuclear waste dumps planned for Lower Saxony, all these obligate our party to devote the greatest attention to this democratic citizens initiative for environmental control, the defense of the people's democratic right to consultation and codetermination.

Our party Presidium has therefore extended its full support to the resolution of the "citizens initiative for Lower Elbe environmental control," which intends to carry out a powerful action bringing together in Itzehoe



all opponents of nuclear power plants. At the same time we have emphatically condemned the attitude of the Federal Government and the Schleswig-Holstein Land government, who sparked off a campaign of calumny against the actions of the citizens initiatives. In contradiction to the Federal Government's promises to the effect that it would listen to the will of the citizens initiative, the government has tried, on behalf of big capital, to suppress the widespread protest by threats and attempts at blackmail.

The rulers of our country, the Federal Government and the Land government of Schleswig-Holstein intend to disarm the justified protests of citizens against the construction of nuclear power plants, against the nuclear power program prepared in Bonn, by an unprecedented display of police and Federal Border Defense Forces--looking like nothing so much as preparations for civil war--, by a boundless campaign of calumny in all the news media. Bonn and Kiel, Schmidt and Stoltenberg tested the state of emergency, tested the state of war in peacetime.

In their campaign against citizens initiatives, against the justified demands and concerns of workers and farmers, artisans and scientists, the Federal Government and the Schleswig-Holstein Land government mislead the public by using the provocative policy and practice of Maoist and anarchist groups.

The day of action initiated in Itzehoe on 19 February 1977 by the "citizens initiative for Lower Elbe environmental control" and other citizens initiatives from Schleswig-Holstein nevertheless became a powerful protest by tens of thousands of people against the construction of nuclear power plants on the Lower Elbe and in other locations of the Federal Republic, against the contempt shown the democratic will of the citizens, for consultation and co-determination when it is a matter concerning millions of people.

The success of the Itzehoe action proves that we were correct in orienting to support for fighting initiatives in cooperation with the local population, to actions involving many social democratic forces. Our party has actively helped the success of the impressive protest demonstration at Itzehoe.

The preparation and conduct of the Itzehoe action confirmed that the development of citizens initiatives in our country has assumed a new quality. It had been rare before for our countrymen of widely differing political opinions and social origins to combine in order to carry common goals and demands. The rulers of our country can no longer ignore the growing incidence of citizens initiatives. They must take their demands into account. A reflection of that new element is the fact that members and followers of SPD and FDP, even of the CDU, express their solidarity with the citizens initiatives and support their actions.

At the same time the Federal Government and the Laender governments emphasize that they definitely intend to stick to their plans for constructing further nuclear power plants in the Federal Republic. The background to this

decision is Bonn's resolution to encourage the profit policies of the energy corporations and their long-range nuclear export plans and, at the same time, the far reaching intention to expand the bases for the potential military use of nuclear energy in the interest of FRG imperialism.

We communists will, in accordance with our energy political conceptions, continue to advocate an antimonopolist, national and democratic energy policy. We will make this abundantly clear at our conference on energy policy to be held in Hamburg on 2 April.

We maintain: We will best achieve adequate and secure energy supplies if domestic hard coal is used to the fullest.

We communists are not Luddites. We are not opposed to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. But we definitely reject the plan of the Federal Government and the energy corporations for covering our country with a dense network of nuclear power plants.

Concerning the construction of nuclear power plants and other nuclear facilities, we hold the following conditions indispensable: There must be no danger to either employees or residents, no danger to the environment. The democratic control of planning, construction and operation must be guaranteed and exercised by the public and its organizations, by employees and their labor unions. Lastly there must be clear evidence for the necessity of nuclear power plants, that is for the fact that the respective energy yield could not be supplied by coal-fired or hydroelectric power plants.

As none of these conditions have been properly met in the Federal Republic, the DKP party leadership group definitely opposes the Federal Government's plan for continuing with the construction of nuclear power plants. The party leadership group therefore renews the demand of the Bonn party congress for a stop to the construction of more nuclear power plants in the Federal Republic. We renew the demand for nationalization of the energy industry accompanied by democratic control and codetermination, and we call for the rapid passage of a bill to nationalize the energy industry so as to bring it under democratic control.

#### Great Continuing Potential of Citizens Initiatives

We will continue to oppose the attempts by the Federal Government, the Laender governments and the Bonn party leaders aimed at stopping and killing the actions of citizens initiatives. At the same time we will continue to resist the fragmenting machinations of Maoist groups which, by their adventurist policies, actually assist the nuclear corporations and state of emergency sponsors.

We have learned one important fact in the course of the latest actions, especially the movement against the construction of nuclear power plants: It is the fact that the rulers of our country are trying to play off workers

and employees and their trade unions against the demands of the citizens initiatives. We, however, say: We defend the vital interests of working people by our work against the construction of nuclear power plants and the establishment of nuclear waste dumps without any guarantee of safety. The labor unions should, therefore, help not hinder the citizens initiatives because they are necessary to obtain greater influence for the working class.

As already emphasized, our party was vitally involved in the preparation and conduct of the Itzehoe day of action.

In accordance with these constructive proposals our party members will continue to provide many ideas in citizens initiatives against the construction of nuclear power plants, for the defense of the environment, in the interest of the safety of our citizens, and for respect for the will of the people.

#### The Forces of Peace Have Advanced Further

In the period under review the forces of peace have advanced despite the rising tide of actions by the enemies of detente and security. The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries as well as the workers and peace movements in the countries of capital and the national liberation movement have once again been the initiators and champions for an end to the arms race, for detente and progress.

This is shown by the many new proposals of the socialist countries, the suggestion by the Warsaw Pact countries for the conclusion of a treaty on renouncing first strike nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the proposals of socialist states in the Vienna U.N. negotiations on balanced reductions of armed forces and weapons, also in the U.N. disarmament negotiations in Geneva where the Soviet Union just lately submitted a draft treaty concerning a general and complete ban on all nuclear weapons tests.

The latest developments underline the fact that, in view of the international balance of power, no country and no political force is able to stand aloof from these initiatives. That is also affirmed by the first political statements made by Jimmy Carter, the new American President. He has stated his readiness to advocate the improvement of international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence and, together with the Soviet Union, to seek steps for putting a stop to the nuclear arms race. Admittedly these statements are contradicted by other remarks of the new American President, according to which NATO is to be strengthened. Another contradiction is represented by his interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless his realistic reflections have produced furious reactions from the most reactionary forces, the direct representatives of the military-industrial complex in the United States as well as in the Federal Republic and other NATO countries.

In the struggle for detente and security of peace the democratic public is constantly gaining in importance. The operations of the democratic and peace

loving forces have become stronger. That is reflected in international initiatives such as the major world forum of forces for peace in Moscow, and even in our country--by the movement "stop the arms race," represented by the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation.

#### Disruptive Attempts by the Enemies of Detente

On the other hand the enemies of detente, especially in the Federal Republic, are increasing their efforts to regain the offensive. They are trying to use anticommunist lies and calumnies to incite hatred against detente. They claim that detente has failed, that it does not benefit our country but is in fact dangerous because, allegedly, it profits only the socialist countries. In the period under review we have repeatedly battled this anticommunist campaign of calumny and appealed to all forces in favor of detente and peace not to allow our country to be propelled back to the dangerous and failed policy of the cold war.

In fact the CDU/CSU leaders are even improving on the old NATO lie according to which the threat from the "East" is steadily growing. They now claim that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are preparing a "blitzkrieg against the West." These anticommunist lies are meant first of all to block the advance of detente, and secondly the ruling circles of our country want to persuade the people of the necessity to tolerate the constantly rising burden of rearmament.

The peace loving people in our country are bound to be concerned about the fact that the attacks on detente do not come only from the propagandists of the CDU/CSU, but that the Federal Government also appears to be yielding to the pressure of the enemies of detente.

In the government policy statement, in the Bundestag debate about this statement, spokesmen for the government coalition as well as CDU/CSU deputies stressed the priority of NATO policies, rearmament and the need for an even closer alliance with American imperialism instead of constructive ideas about consolidating detente and security. Federal Defense Minister Leber called for another rise in the Bundeswehr budget. Both the government parties and the opposition agreed with him. NATO rearmament ranks first in Bonn. Foreign Minister Genscher (FDP) is more and more inclined to adopt the CDU/CSU leaders hostility to detente. He has become the champion of the slanderous agitation especially against the GDR and its constructive peace policy.

At the central LLL meeting in Offenbach we submitted our constructive policy for consolidating detente and, especially, for the further development of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR. At the same time we flatly rejected all provocative attempts to obstruct the further normalization of relations between the FRG and the GDR. We advocate the further positive development of relations between the two states, because that is in the interest of peace and the people, and because it benefits the working people in our country.

## Political Detente Must Be Followed by Contribution to Disarmament

The interview granted by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to the SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG definitely proves that the GDR is prepared to maintain the line of further normalization in the relations between the two German states, that it strictly observes the treaties concluded by it, as well as the final Helsinki communique. Comrade Herbert Mies, chairman of our party, issued a statement commenting Erich Honecker's interview. He emphasized that, in the interest of the further improvement of relations between FRG and GDR, commonsense must be adopted in Bonn, followed by loyalty to the treaties already signed. Addressing himself to those in Bonn, who wrap themselves in the cloak of the defense of national interests while simultaneously setting out to attack the GDR, the DKP chairman said:

"What they are doing has nothing in common with national policies. National policies must take into account the fact that there are two sovereign German states. They can live peaceably side by side and arrange their relations for the mutual benefit only if both scrupulously observe the inviolability of each other's borders and there is an end to the unrealistic conception of the continued existence of 'national unity.' It is also necessary to stress respect for the two states independence, including that of independent citizenship."

At this meeting of the party leadership group we again emphasize that military detente must follow political detente, that our country must actively contribute to the end of the arms race and to disarmament. We therefore stress the necessity for the Federal Government at last acknowledging the principle of mutual arms reduction in Central Europe. It cannot go on playing the role of wrecker at the Vienna negotiations and demand forces and weapons reductions from the socialist countries, while the NATO states and the Federal Republic go on annually increasing their armament.

We call on the Federal Government positively to react to the proposals of the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries and to support the suggestion of concluding a treaty to the effect that none of the signatories to the final Helsinki communique will be the first to use nuclear weapons against another signatory. The Federal Government's refusal contractually to renounce a first nuclear strike makes incredible its professions of favoring detente and the peace policy.

Since 1 January 1977 the Federal Republic has been a "nonpermanent member of the U.N. Security Council." This has meant a great additional responsibility for the Federal Government. The German Communist Party is watching to see that our country meets this responsibility. The peoples of the world expect a U.N. Security Council member consistently to advocate the observance of world peace, detente and efficient measures for disarmament, national independence and the equality of countries and peoples, resolutely to ostracize colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and fascism.

Ever since the Federal Republic's accession to the United Nations Organizations representatives of the Federal Government have repeatedly promised to meet these profoundly humanist concerns of humanity.

By its emphasis on rearmament and in contradiction to such promises the Federal Government has actually helped give impetus to the dangerous arms race and attempted to circumvent the nuclear weapons by by ambiguous treaties with South Africa and Brazil.

At all crucial votes the Federal Republic has ranged itself at the side of those who are unwilling to acknowledge the shift in the international balance of power and strive to maintain imperialist rule. It is a disgrace for our country that, in contrast to the overwhelming majority of U.N. members, the Federal Republic continues to support the South African racists, the Israeli aggressors and the Chilean Junta.

All this causes us once again to call on the Federal Republic at last to adjust its foreign policy to the principles of the United Nations and allow itself to be guided by the commandments of the Constitution. It is imperative to cease support for fascist and racist regimes, imperative to condemn all colonialism and racism, imperative to extend total support to the young national states in their struggle for national independence and freedom. That will serve the international prestige of the Federal Republic of Germany, the interests of our people, the peace of the world.

#### Active in Initiatives for Disarmament

At a time when detente progresses despite increasing counterattacks by big and arms capital, we reaffirm the necessity for the democratic public of our country increasingly to lift its voice in favor of a constructive FRG foreign policy. Detente and the security of peace are more than the concern of the rulers; increasingly they are matters for the involvement of the democratic public.

As the party of the working class we communists are responsible for ensuring that the working class increasingly makes heard its advocacy of detente and security. Peace is a fundamental concern of the working people. Peace policies and social policies are intimately linked. The arms race swallows billions which are then lacking when it comes to the realization of urgently needed reforms.

We have found a most encouraging echo to the appeal of the "Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation" for the conduct of disarmament initiatives this year and for organizing major disarmament demonstrations on 21 and 22 May in Bremen, Essen, Frankfurt and Munich. The appeal has already been signed by personalities and representatives of organizations and parties of the most diverse political-ideological backgrounds.

We welcome and support this initiative which, among others, calls for the following: No further increase in the arms budget, the abandonment of all new arms projects, a constructive contribution to the Vienna negotiations on balanced reductions of armed forces and weapons, and arms reductions of 10 percent initially.

Support for the May actions for peace and disarmament is a priority task for all groups, kreises and leadership organizations of our party. It will be crucial for us communists to prove ourselves a unifying, forward looking and mobilizing force in the struggle for an end to the arms race just as much as in the struggle for social interests, democratic rights and anti-imperialist solidarity. That is why we appeal to all members and functionaries actively to support the May demonstrations. We are the party of the working class and it behooves us to act in alliance with other democratic forces because we are also the party fighting for peace.

#### We Stress the Unifying Factors

At the Fourth Party Leadership Group Meeting, in the course of the forward planning by the Presidium and the secretariat, we stressed that we consider the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties of vital importance in the struggle for peace, detente, cooperation and social progress. In the past weeks and months we have made every effort, on the basis of the resolutions and the action programs of the Berlin Conference, to make our contribution to strengthening the united action of European communist and workers parties.

The enemies of the working people are doing everything in their power to misrepresent the resolutions of the Berlin Conference, to belittle the common efforts of the communist and workers parties. They talk of "insurmountable differences of opinion" among the communist and workers parties. True, in view of the different conditions of the struggle in the various countries it is quite possible for temporary differences of opinion to arise about the strategies and tactics to be adopted in the struggle for the interests of the people by the communist and workers parties involved in fighting for the interests of the working class, peace and progress. But as far as we are concerned the most important point is the effort made by all communist and workers parties to strengthen our common action for peace, detente and social progress.

Our party is always guided by the need to emphasize the unifying factors in order to strengthen the common front against imperialism. Our actions will always be guided by proletarian internationalism which multiplies the strength of the working classes in all countries. This is a point we have unequivocally stressed at our Bonn party congress also.

## International Links

Several party congresses of communist and workers parties have taken place in the period under review. Our party was represented at all of them. In addition our party had various meetings with fraternal parties, which served mainly the exchange of experiences. At all these contacts we endeavored to make our contribution to the consolidation of the unity of the movement as a whole.

In the period under review delegations from our party attended the Fourth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, the Eighth Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, the 22d Congress of the Luxembourg Communist Party, the 18th Congress of the Israeli Communist Party, and the Third Congress of FRELIMO, Mozambique's liberation front.

These were significant events in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, democracy and socialism. They were distinguished by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, by loyalty to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In Vietnam the representatives of our party reaffirmed the solidarity felt by communists in the Federal Republic with the communists of Vietnam and assured the Vietnamese people of their further support and assistance in the building of socialism.

At the party congress of the Portuguese Communists the DKP delegates expressed their fraternal solidarity with the PCP and the resolution of communists in the Federal Republic to continue exercising solidarity with the Portuguese workers and farmers in the struggle for the defense of their revolutionary achievements.

At the party congress of the Israeli Communists the DKP delegates emphasized our party's support for the efforts to restore peace in the Middle East and underlined their solidarity with the struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression.

At the Third Congress of Mozambique's FRELIMO we affirmed our solidarity with Africa's national liberation forces in the struggle against racism, neocolonialism, for national independence and freedom. This was the first opportunity for a delegation of our party to attend a congress on the African Continent.

In the period under review delegations and representatives of our party visited the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary and Bulgaria in order to familiarize themselves with the successes and problems of the building of socialism in these countries. In the same period delegations of our party went to Belgium, France, Luxembourg and Austria to study the experiences of these fraternal parties.



Our attendance at the festivities in honor of the 50th anniversary of our fraternal party, the Progressive Party of Cyprus, reflected our solidarity with the struggle of the Cypriot people for their independence.

Our solidarity with the demands of the Korean people for the departure of U.S. forces from South Korea and the peaceful reunification of the country was underlined by our attendance at an international conference in Brussels.

For the first time members of our party leadership group visited with representatives of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Somalia.

Our party received delegations from the CPSU, the SED, the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Finland. It also met a delegation of the Democratic Party of Iraq which was visiting our country.

All these meetings took place in the sign of mutual solidarity. We also endeavored to learn from the experiences of the fraternal parties--whether in other capitalist countries or in the socialist countries.

In the period since the last party leadership group meeting discussions took place in Luxembourg and Vienna, involving communist and workers parties from European capitalist countries. The discussions in Luxembourg focused on problems of the West European steel industry, in Vienna on problems involved in the struggle against the social partnership ideology.

Our party hosted an international study meeting of representatives from communist and workers parties of European capitalist countries concerning "problems of the common struggle against the multinational corporations."

At that meeting we discussed common actions by the communist and workers parties in the European capitalist countries against attempts to shift the burden of the crisis onto the working people, against the power of big capital.

#### We Reaffirm Our Anti-Imperialist Solidarity

In recent months the party has demonstrated its solidarity with communists and other democrats in Chile, Spain and Lebanon as well as with the Palestine Liberation Front.

Worldwide anti-imperialist solidarity has achieved a great victory in the fight against fascism. In the face of world-wide solidarity, the growing protests against terror and torture in Chile the fascist Junta in Chile was compelled to release our friend and comrade Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party. The release of Luis Corvalan is a huge success for proletarian internationalism, and we are not inclined to let ourselves be sidetracked by the propaganda of the bourgeois press.

We are immensely proud that Comrade Luis Corvalan wrote a letter of thanks to our party in recognition of our solidarity with the fight of the Chilean

people and our help in obtaining his release. At this meeting of the party group leadership we reaffirm--in response to Luis Corvalan's request--our resolution to intensify our efforts for the imprisoned and exiled Chilean patriots.

Luis Corvalan's release has encouraged us even more decisively than before to support the struggle of the Chilean people for freedom and democracy.

We thank all comrades who, in evidence of their internationalist attitude, have worked hard for the freedom and material support of Chilean patriots in the months past.

We reaffirm our resolute solidarity with the Spanish Communists and anti-fascists who are conducting a complex struggle to conquer Spanish fascism, restore democratic rights and freedoms, to achieve the free operation of the PCE, the liberation of all political prisoners. We have expressed this support in a meeting with PCE representatives.

In the months just past we have also proffered solidarity and support to the Communist Party of Lebanon and other democratic forces in that country as well as to the Palestine Liberation Front. We will continue to consider it our duty to provide material support for the progressive forces in Lebanon.

We will continue our anti-imperialist solidarity in the coming weeks and months also, joining all those who struggle against imperialism, racism, fascism and neocolonialism, for freedom and national independence.

The Political, Ideological and Organizational Consolidation of the Party--  
The Party Task for 1977

The months since the Fourth Party Group Leadership Meeting have witnessed a tremendous rise in the acuity of the ideological class conflict. That is linked to the change in the international balance of power in favor of socialism. The rulers of our country are endeavoring to deflect attention from the increasingly acute contradictions of the monopoly capitalist system. They want to prevent the working class from turning to new forces, to our party.

We were and are confronted with the concentrated efforts by big capital and its political agents to stage new anticommunist campaigns. These are directed against the great goal of the working class, that is socialism, real socialism, and at the same time also immediately against our party and all other progressive forces. The ruling circles want to push us, the DKP, away from the principles of our policy and ideology, or else isolate us.

We have not been passive and content merely to register these efforts. In this dispute which tested the ideological resolution and loyalty to principles of the party--of all communists--, we have offensively maintained our position. In countering the attacks of its opponents our party has done excellent ideological work. Statements by the party, articles in UNSERE ZEIT

and other newspapers and periodicals assumed a directly orienting role in the struggle to explain the problems. This sharply illuminated the significance of our efforts to improve our educational efforts and even more to emphasize the work of Marxist workers education.

#### Offensive Dispute With Anticommunism

All this has helped enable us now to claim: The party has stood the test. The anticommunists have not triumphed. We have not omitted to provide the necessary offensive answer. The confidence of our comrades in the correctness of the political course resolved upon was confirmed: This stipulated the offensive rejection of all anticommunism and called on all to cling to the principles of proletarian internationalism, of solidarity with the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries.

That includes appreciation of the necessity to continue our efforts to raise the quality of ideological work in the party and develop in the basic organizations the thorough and comradely discussion of all new problems until they are correctly understood.

Considering the bitterness of the disputes and the heavy use made by the rulers of all means available to them for promoting anticommunism, it is crucially important over and over again to tell ourselves that the exacerbation of the ideological class conflict certainly does not mean that imperialism has taken the historic offensive against socialism and the forces of progress. On the contrary. To the extent that the strength of socialism and the struggle of the progressive forces have thwarted imperialism in its attempts to stage the dispute with socialism in the military arena, the extent that imperialism is compelled to adjust to the changed balance of power and agree to peaceful coexistence, the class conflict is becoming more acute in the arena of the economic competition between the systems and, most of all, in the arena of ideology.

Imperialist attempts to take the offensive against communism are rooted in its unbroken aggression, flow from the interest of the most reactionary forces in halting detente and reversing it to create situations in which counterrevolutionary or aggressive actions against socialism can be undertaken. That fact constitutes the danger of the current anticommunist campaign. Nevertheless we should not allow ourselves to be provoked. Whatever the efforts of big capital, anticommunist incitement continues its historically defensive reaction to the growing strength of socialism.

Admittedly the reactionaries are able to activate anticommunist prejudices, but that still does not provide an answer to the problems arising from the crisis wracking their own sphere, a crisis characterized by increasingly acute social and political contradictions.

Using this criterion we are quite justified in claiming that anticommunism is meant to deflect attention from the defects and incapacity of the big capitalist system.

The crisis phenomena and the many unsolved problems of social life lead the ruling circles in our country to fear that the working people might increasingly come to appreciate that the economy in real socialism develops from from any crises, and that the future of man is secure there. That is why the rulers will always try to use anticommunist campaigns to counteract the development of the struggle of the working class and to divert attention from the antisocial and antidemocratic realities of the big capitalist system.

### The Rulers Refuse Human Rights

Yet even here the rulers are compelled to invoke bold and risky topics, such as their current emphasis on the matter of human rights. We must admit that they have achieved a certain effect by doing so, but their tactics have one great drawback: Those who represent themselves as the saviors of human rights also advocate imperialism which is characterized by unspeakable crimes against the peoples and by its notorious incapacity for realizing the human rights crucial for working people.

If we look more closely at the make-up of the anticommunist campaign, we find that great care has been taken not to mention such fundamental human rights as the right to work, to education, the equality of men and women--in short the entire social content of freedom, of real democracy for the working people. The real weakness of this so-called human rights campaign stands revealed at this point, and if its initiators believe that by playing high in some cases they can legitimize their advocacy of human rights, we should make them appreciate the thinness of the ice they are skating on. The capitalist reality of our country daily presents us with actual occasions and necessities for demonstrating what the realization of human rights for working people really looks like. This is where we find the actual potential for action. The appearance of SDAJ members recently here in Duesseldorf, at a fraudulent quasi-event called "job exchange of the federation of young employers" showed how badly the rulers are affected if a spade is called a spade in the matter of human rights.

The anticommunist campaigns of the rulers are intended to do more than disguise the capitalist reality: They are also designed to disfigure the socialist reality. That makes all the more important our duty to inform the working people of the truth about socialism. We have therefore embarked on many definite actions in the period under review. In addition the Presidium has adopted resolutions for ensuring an effective propaganda for socialism in connection with the imminent 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We are directing the party's attention especially to a series of publications about real socialism and basic problems of the class conflict, to the workers train traveling to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1977, to the theoretical conference and the events commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution, to the actions of the SDAJ and the Spartacus MSB within the framework of the week of friendship of young people for the Soviet Union in the fall of 1977, all of which deserve the widest support by all leadership groups and party organizations.

## Impressive Record of the Soviet Union

A short while ago the CPSU Central Committee published a resolution on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We want to emphasize once again that the victory of the October Revolution has been the preeminent event in our Century. The Red October fundamentally changed the world and, for the first time in history, brought the working class to power. The experiences and teachings of this revolution are of lasting importance for the struggling working class the world over.

The resolution outlines the impressive results of the course pursued. These show convincingly that socialism guarantees a historically unprecedented rate of progress in all vital sectors of society.

The fundamental achievements of socialism listed in the CPSU document represent important trump cards in the ideological dispute here:

- The assurance of all-round social security;
- The widest access of working people to knowledge and the riches of intellectual culture;
- The realization of the true equality of women;
- The actual equality of all nationalities and peoples;
- The evolution of true fraternity among working people--whatever their ethnic origin;
- The realization of socialist democracy in the shape of the unity of rights and duties, genuine freedom and civic responsibility, and the harmonious link between the interests of society, the collective and the individual personality.

All this shows that socialism is that society which focuses on the working person, the society of social optimism which offers each working person the certainty and confidence about a happy future.

We have every reason to continue offensively to parade the achievements of socialism. At the same time it is demonstrably correct not to represent socialism as an easy one-way street. It is not the absence of problems which proves the strength of socialism. There is no social system without problems. Socialism's superiority is shown by the fact that it is capable of coping with them as they arise, together with the working people and in their interest.

Another point to be emphasized: The honest description of the development of socialism (which we need) is one matter. Another matter entirely is the

assertion that we should base our policies in some way on a critique of real socialism. Our policies, oriented to socialism, are based on the critique of the capitalist society as determined by the class standpoint of the workers. The working class has nothing to gain by communist attempts to accommodate those who have nothing to offer but the continuation of capitalist exploitation. There is not one example to show that one gets closer to socialism by setting oneself up against the real socialism.

#### Our Loyalty to Proletarian Internationalism

Our experience teaches us unconditional loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. That does not bring the party into conflict with national policy. For us that is no problem. It is made a problem only by anticommunist propaganda which serves up the assertion that communist parties cannot think nationally unless they break with proletarian internationalism.

Our position on this point is perfectly sound. From the outset, especially at the Hamburg and Bonn party congresses, we have devoted great attention to the development of our own national policy. We consider it right and proper for each party carefully to consider the conditions of its national struggle and prove itself a truly national force, the representative of the working people in the nation.

In our country this implies that, based on the historic developments, particularly pertinacious calumnies must be disproved according to which communists have always been "antinational." In the dispute with this doctrine our party has creatively approached the distinctive development of the national aspect of its policy.

At the same time this approach has not deflected us from proletarian internationalism by even a single step, because in our experience considerations of national conditions cannot require Marxists to value national peculiarities more highly than the principles of proletarian internationalism. Any separation from the international workers movement, any emphasis on differences can be useful only to big capital and therefore injurious to the real national interests of the working class.

For us these are sure experiences and principles. Our foes constantly try to shake them. In the meantime there is hardly an enemy left who does not hawk the term "Eurocommunism," a term not coined by communists but invented by Mr Brzesinski, adviser to the new U.S. President Carter. In the Bundestag debate on the government declaration of the Federal Chancellor at the end of January, "Eurocommunism" made its appearance in virtually all speeches, whether by SPD or CSU speakers. Of course such people are by no means interested in the search for new ways to pursue the struggle for opening up the road to socialism in the West European countries.

On the contrary. When the talk turns to developments in Western Europe, all emphasize their fundamental hostility to the communist parties which fight for progressive changes in society. But they do believe to be able effectively to use Eurocommunism to disseminate certain ideas which in fact run counter to real socialism. The same Mr Brzesinski expressed that very clearly. In April 1976 he told the Italian weekly ESPRESSO: "I have maintained for years that it would be good for the United States and for international political stability if communism were to become as pluralistic as possible. From that standpoint Eurocommunism is undeniably a welcome phenomenon."

That is a frank comment on the much lauded "pluralism." Obviously they are not concerned with freedom of opinion for communists vis-a-vis the bourgeois ideology. The intent is rather to allow the communists to break up into many hostile factions. Of course that would be most useful to imperialism. That is why we will not cease to advocate strengthening the unity of the communist movement.

We do this by shaping our policies to help realize the fighting targets jointly adopted by all European fraternal parties at the Berlin conference, which represent a major long-term program for action.

At the same time, comrades, we are doing this by advocating within the communist movement the validity of the principles of proletarian internationalism and emphasizing the historic experiences of the international workers movement, including those of our own struggle, which confirm our standpoint.

We pursue a deliberate and correct policy. Shortly we will, by means of even more thorough ideological work in the party, equip ourselves for another improvement in the application of our policy. All measures for the development of our ideological work are planned in consideration of the tasks in the Max Reimann proclamation and the preparation of the discussion on the DKP draft party program. That applies to instruction courses at the Karl Liebknecht School, to the selection of topics in the educational year, to the preparation and conduct of theoretical conferences as planned, for example, in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the publication of Lenin's "What To Do" or--as mentioned earlier--the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, to the organization of debates and increased orientation to public educational evenings.

"In the Interest of the Working People--Join the DKP"

"The key to another rise in our influence on the masses in the foreseeable future will be the consolidation of the party, the transition to organized, individual and collective work with the masses of all comrades and basic organizations, most of all, though, an expansion of party ranks." That is the point we stressed at the Fourth Party Leadership Group Meeting. The work of the groups and leadership groups of our party must always focus on the party proclamation we are implementing as the Max Reimann proclamation "In the Interest of the Working People--Join the DKP."

Immediately following the last meeting the Presidium and secretariat of the party leadership group adopted measures to orient the entire party to the accomplishment of this central task. In view of the fact that the kreis leadership groups and their secretariats hold the key to helping the party groups to the planned and successful accomplishment of these tasks, the Presidium and secretariat conducted a conference with the kreis chairmen in Opladen late last October. This conference was attended also by the bezirk chairmen. Of similar importance for the effective translation of our party's policy, for strengthening the DKP, was an organizational seminar held in December last and attended by the secretaries for organizational and personnel policies of all bezirks and several key kreises.

These discussions and conferences represented an important link in the chain of measures to orient the party organizations to the compilation of experiences and lessons drawn from the Bundestag election campaign. They served to prepare and implement the party proclamation and the pursuit of the exchange of experiences on leadership problems at all levels. We have reported extensively on the results in the newspaper PRAXIS.

We have shown in this report that extraparlimentary actions have increased especially in the weeks and months following the Bundestag elections, that our party is making every effort meaningfully to participate in these extraparlimentary actions. At the same time we are emphasizing that the party continues to be confronted with the task successfully to struggle to strengthen our parliamentary positions. This aim was also served by the discussions of the party leadership secretariat with various bezirk secretariats. Involved were the absorption of the lessons and experiences gained by the overall development in the bezirks and the provision of help for the successful conduct of the Hesse municipal elections set for 20 March. In addition the discussion dealt with the long-term orientation to the election campaigns in these bezirks in 1978 and 1979.

All these discussions helped the exchange of a plethora of experiences derived from the topical political, ideological, organizational and personnel-political work of the party. All those involved arrived at the conclusion that such fruitful discussions should become a permanent element of our party's leadership operations.

Early this year the week of the DKP in conjunction with the LLL meeting in Offenbach became the first big event in the party's political work with the masses.

Party factory, neighborhood and college groups appeared more prominently in the public eye. They emphasized the organization of days of action, public events, information booths and price stop sales. They distributed the DKP-REPORT, special issues of factory and local papers, neighborhood letters and other materials. New readers were recruited for UNSERE ZEIT by purposeful actions, house-to-house canvassing and many other actions. UNSERE ZEIT street sales improved at the same time.



Parallel to these activities were the party groups preparations for the annual general meetings which took place in the period from early January to mid-February.

A first appraisal confirms that the basic organizations considered the annual general meetings an important event in the life of the party. The preparation and conduct of the annual general meetings followed the guidelines adopted by the secretariat of the party leadership group. The attendance of members has improved by comparison to previous years.

As far as we can see at this point, the (frequently written) reports and lively discussions focused on the implementation of the party proclamation, the representation--concentrated on key points--of the interests of working people and youth, the development of propaganda to arouse political sympathies, the wider distribution of UNSERE ZEIT. We must admit, though, that political discussion was unduly curtailed at some annual general meetings and the working plans submitted did not include definite schedules and responsibilities. Elections to group leaderships displayed a large extent of unanimity, and this gives evidence of the intention to tackle future operations with stable and competent group leaderships.

Many party groups proceeded to the adoption of definite and realistic targets on the basis of the accurate appraisal of their own strength and potential.

Most basic organizations have adopted definite targets from the party proclamation. In the meantime first results are to hand from various factory, neighborhood and college groups. Since the issue of the party proclamation more new members have been recruited than in the same period of the previous year.

Yet we are still only at the beginning of the membership recruitment drive prescribed in the Max Reimann proclamation. We see that the recruitment of new and active fighters for the cause of the working class makes great demands on the party. It is all the more important for all party groups and comrades to struggle tenaciously for the achievement of these targets, organize the competition within and between groups, kreises and bezirks and create a genuinely competitive atmosphere. That should be linked with properly thought out ideas and measures for the involvement of the new members in the life and work of every party group.

This period of many initiatives for the social and democratic interests of the working people and youth of our country also witnessed the death of our honored Comrade Max Reimann, honorary president of our party and member of the Presidium. In Max Reimann the working class of our country, the international communist and workers movement has lost an outstanding personality.

The moving memorial service and the impressive demonstration of more than 20,000 communists, social democrats, trade unionists and independents bore witness of the fact that our party will, in Max Reimann's spirit, always struggle for the interests of the working class and youth, that we will make every effort successfully to accomplish the Max Reimann proclamation "In the Interest of the Working People--Join the DKP."

We reaffirm the statement of the Fourth Party Group Leadership Meeting that the implementation of the party proclamation is a challenging but realistic task. Experiences to hand in the realization of the party proclamation confirm that this great project succeeds the better the more consistently the party proclamation is considered a matter not only for the party but of all progressive forces. Influence on the masses is always dependent on the influence of our basic organizations, their work on behalf of the working people.

This party leadership group meeting orients to the successful accomplishment of the tasks involved for us in the coming big events in the democratic struggle: The successful conduct of international women's day on 8 March and of May Day, commemorating the struggles of the international working class, comprehensive support for the disarmament week in May and the actions for an end to the arms race on 21/22 May, the successful conduct of the UNSERE ZEIT press festival in Recklinghausen at the beginning of July.

This party leadership group meeting appeals to all members and friends of our party, to all basic organizations and leaderships with the request well to prepare the festival of the workers press--the UNSERE ZEIT popular festival 1977 in Recklinghausen, to do so with zest and energy, with fantasy and good ideas. As in the past, this year also the successful conduct of the UNSERE ZEIT press festival will be a major fighting task. The ruling circles of our country want to prevent the DKP from presenting itself at the UNSERE ZEIT popular festival as the party intimately linked to the working people in our country. Although we have legally binding contracts with the city of Recklinghausen, anticommunist circles are trying to obstruct the organization of this impressive popular festival with its mass attendance. We will not be deflected: We will use all our strength in order successfully to mount the "Festival of the Workers Press--the UNSERE ZEIT Popular Festival" in the mining city of Recklinghausen from 1-3 July.

At this Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting we are drawing up the balance sheet of our work. We are evaluating the many experiences of work with the masses, especially the experiences of our factory groups. Our work in the factories, especially the major factories, continues to be the key point of our policy and practical work. That is the reason why, at this meeting, we are having a report dealing with the topic "The Situation of the Working Class in the Factories--The Party's Duty To Strengthen the Factory Groups."

The factories are the main arena of the class conflict. Our entire operation, our entire work and efforts serve just the one goal: To represent the social,

democratic and economic interests and rights of the working people and to make them count. At this, the Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting we will discuss how even better to accomplish this task.

The Situation of the Working Class in the Factories--The Party's Duty To Strengthen the Factory Groups--Report by Werner Cieslak, Secretary to the Party Leadership Group

Comrades,

What moves us to ask what tasks must be tackled by the party as a whole to strengthen the factory groups?

The persistence of the capitalist crisis has caused the living conditions of the working people in our country to deteriorate; the crisis profoundly affects the working class from economic, political and ideological aspects.

This process is at its most noticeable in the factories, especially those run by the major corporations.

Our report to the Bonn party congress stated:

"As the party of the working class representation of the interests of the workers in the factories continues the main arena of our struggles and tasks."

Factory workers are most immediately affected by the crisis. At the same time they have the greatest potential for resisting the pressure of the crisis, the shift onto them of the burdens of the crisis. The bourgeoisie is highly organized and progressively so. The working class must oppose it by organizing its own forces. In this context immense importance lies with the role of labor union organizations. After all, as Marx stressed, this is the focus of resistance against the outrages of capital. We again categorically claim at this point that we will support any labor union policy which is consistently oriented to the interests of blue and white collar workers, in order further to strengthen labor union organization especially in the factories. Helped by the confidence of their colleagues our party members are making a great contribution to this struggle.

In the factories the working class brings to bear its organized strength primarily by common action. Here we see an important task for our factory groups--to be active in the mobilization of the unity of action of the working class, which is based on the representation of common interests.

For us communists unity of action is not just a matter of tactics. In fact it represents an indivisible element of our overall policy. Because last Century and in our day the working class of our country has been victorious in the struggle against the capitalist system whenever it acted in accordance with the slogan: "Together We Are Everything--Alone We Are Nothing!"

In the fight against the shift of the burden of the crisis we will therefore also see the solidarity in action of communists, social democrats, Christian and independent workers as representing the basis of success. We emphasize that this unity of action must have at its core the common approach by social democrats and communists to all important questions of working life!

In practice this process takes place every day--in small as well as in large matters--in the elected factory and labor union representative bodies. With a view to the 1978 youth representative and factory council elections we reaffirm: We will not cease our efforts to ensure the victory of these combined labor union lists.

Against the background of the real arena of struggles and tasks the "Max Reimann Proclamation--In the Interest of the Working People--Join the DKP" must be appreciated as a challenge to the entire party for conducting even more purposefully and effectively the struggle for greater influence and the recruitment of new members, especially from the ranks of factory workers. The communists of our country have never wavered in their firm confidence in our working class of which we consider ourselves the most conscious and organized segment.

Our confidence in the strength and the developing consciousness of our country's working class also distinguishes us from all those groups which deny the working class any historic mission and dispute its historic task, consider it a mass incapable of recognizing its own class situation or of developing toward the struggle to change this situation. We communists have not lamented nor resigned ourselves, we have always struggled for the development of class consciousness in the working class.

We are aware of but not discouraged by the fact that the consciousness of our colleagues is still overwhelmingly influenced by the concept of social partnership and reformism. That causes us even more intensively, especially by the ideological work of the factory groups, to propagate the further development of class consciousness and instill socialist consciousness in the working class.

#### Preeminent Significance of Personnel in Corporate Factories

In the past 20 years the process of the scientific-technological revolution has advanced the concentration of production and capital in our country to an unprecedented extent. The working class has expanded. In the period 1960-1975 the working population grew by 5 million to 25.35 million. In the same period the proportion of employees (the overwhelming majority of which are part of the working class) increased by 7.5 million to 21.42 million (that is 84.5 percent) of the working population.

The proportion of white collar workers among employees rose in the same period from 25.7 percent to 40.3 percent, that of blue collar workers declined from 67.6 percent to 50.1 percent (source: BMWI/performance in 1975 figures).

This shift toward white collar employees is an objective developmental process. It derives from the fact that work preceding, ancillary to and following immediate production tends to grow faster in the course of the scientific-technological revolution than production itself, which employs blue collar workers as producers.

The process of increased industrial concentration has led to the rise in the significance of large factories as focal points of the working class. For 1974 the Federal Office of Statistics shows that factories with 1,000 and more employees represent only 1.14 percent of all industrial factories, but that they employ 3,271,000 blue and white collar workers, that is more than 40 percent of all employees in industry. The blue and white collar workers in these factories are usually highly organized and, in accordance with their objective situation in the capitalist process of exploitation, are most capable of developing class consciousness, unity, solidarity and organized action. The personnel of the major industrial factories therefore has preeminent importance.

The basic documents of our party point out that the state monopoly system opposes the working class, because it represents the organized front of big capital, employers federations, bourgeois parties, mass media and the capitalist state.

How does that work out?

Big capital has covered the entire economy with a dense network of centrally organized employers federations.

The various chambers of commerce and trade involve every single independent artisan and small cornerstore, subject them to the profit and power interests of big capital and expose them to the ideology of the so-called free market economy. The periodical published by the DGB Institute for Economics and Social Sciences estimates that some 5,000 such capitalist federations are in existence, and that their influence reaches into the farthest corners of the Federal Republic's economic life. Despite the negative freedom of association anchored in the Constitution all those assessed for business tax are compelled to membership and to pay dues. As a result some 1.5 million small businessmen are members of the chambers of industry and trade, thereby assuring the big bourgeoisie of the 100 percent organization of business.

All chambers are members of the "German Industrial and Trade Association." This in turn is intimately linked with the Federal Union of Employers Associations (BDA) and the Federal Association of German Industry (BDI).

BDA and BDI have the political agitator Schleyer as their common president and are the strongest organized class concentration of the employers. The BDI has 370 specialized and 188 Land federations. It is, so to speak, the "federation of federations." By way of the organizations enrolled in it, it

represents approximately 95,000 members. Yet two thirds of the members of its presidium come from the 1.14 percent of major firms with 1,000 and more employees.

Another powerful tool of big capital is the "Joint Committee of German Business" to which belong all 13 economic umbrella organizations as well as the BDI and BDA. The employers magazine DER DEUTSCHE INDUSTRIE- UND HANDELSTAG justified this interlocking as follows:

"The often quoted tight interlocking of business and politics is certainly not an empty catchword. In our industrial age it is a reality which legislators should always bear in mind if political decisions are to be reasonably complied with even where individual problems are concerned."

The composition of the Bundestag committees accords with the same principle. The committee members are largely the product or at least the allies of capitalist business and the employers federations.

The common order of business in federal ministries allows the monopolies to exert crucial influence even before legislation is introduced. Article 23.2 permits so-called "affected special interests"--in fact mainly the employers federations--to influence the shape of government legislative drafts even before the Bundestag begins to deal with them. And the WELT DER ARBEIT [World of Labor] recently wrote that only 13 of the 518 Bundestag deputies had given their occupation as "worker."

The WSI-MITTEILUNGEN of the labor unions, published on August 1976, provide the following characterization of the Federal Government's subordination to the rule of the monopolies: "In this relationship between state and business the employers federations represent the transmission belts. Using the tool of personal, institutional and functional interlocking they affect government, parliament and the administration to a far greater extent than any other social group."

All this explains the full extent of the organization in opposition to the working class of our country. In addition the rulers of our country dispose of a wide range of tools to exercise ideological influence on the masses. We do not even want to mention here the bourgeois press, movies, radio and television. Everybody knows about them. Less known in the party and wide sectors of the working class are the tremendously large editions and the broad spectrum of employer publications by which they influence not only the personnel in the factories and their families but also service the editorial offices of the press, radio and television news and influence--or attempt to influence--scientific and other institutions.

According to labor union investigations the capital-oriented business federation press issues 30-40 million copies of newspapers and magazines every month. That is triple the quantity of the monthly labor union publications. Once or twice a week the BDA sends out two informational bulletins to 3,000 agencies, editorial offices and individual newspapermen.

Also regularly published are 432 plant newspapers in an edition of 5.3 million copies. These are completely geared to suggest to blue and white collar workers that they are kept informed about "their factory," that "their" opinion is sought. In fact they represent fetters used for the ideological enslavement of the personnel to the capitalist corporations; their aim is the consolidation of the social partnership ideology. This is the point at which our factory newsletters have a vital task in the ideological class conflict, because the development of class consciousness requires the constant unmasking of the employers demagoguery by the dispute with the apologists of the capitalist exploiter rule.

The center of ideological and political influence on the masses is the "Institute for German Business," supported largely by the BDI and BDA. According to its own data its duties include--I quote the WSI-MITTEILUNGEN No 8/1976 --"scientific research into economic and sociopolitical links," "the publication and distribution of topical materials, data and arguments for public discussion."

The institute employs 195 staff including 70 science trained specialists. It operates two publishing houses, a noncommercial movie rental service and periodically issues to various target groups informational material on general economic and sociopolitical questions as well as other publications. This powerful apparatus for influencing the masses serves only one aim: To represent to the working people especially the system of capitalist exploitation as the only possible and feasible system, that is ideologically to buttress this system.

#### Political Activities of Factory Groups--Tasks for the Party as a Whole

Not only the employers federations, the Bonn parties also endeavor to obtain greater influence on the working class in the factories, or to expand their existing influence. We should not underrate the operation of the reactionary and reformist forces among the working class. Here also we must deal with the question of working class orientation in view of the pressure exerted by the crisis.

Biedenkopf, the anchor man of the CDU, has invented a "new social problem." In his book "Fortschritt in Freiheit" [Progress in Freedom] he ranges himself in the ranks of imperialist apologists who, unsuccessfully, attempt to prove that the class split of society no longer exists in the system of state monopolist capitalism, aiming thereby to block the growing consciousness of the actual situation, the appreciation of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism by increasingly larger sections of the working class.

Biedenkopf claims, for example:

"In the 19th Century the social question was in fact purely a matter for the workers and therefore a class question. In our society 85 percent of all those gainfully employed are in fact employees, the social question therefore

has lost its class nature. ...The social question of the 19th Century has been solved, in principle, in all Western countries and--certainly in the Federal Republic in fact also."

Thus Biedenkopf. The pressure of the current capitalist crisis on the working class proves the contrary. The class conflict concerning economic, social, political and ideological questions--7 times more days were lost by strikes in the Federal Republic in 1976 than in 1975--demonstrates that the social order of the Federal Republic in the last quarter of the 20th Century continues to bear the imprint of the 19th Century.

It remains to be noted that DGB chairman H.O. Vetter states at the last rules revision congress of the German Labor Union Federation that the trade union movement is "confronted now with the same facts as it was 100 years ago," that is "the social inferiority and dependence of the employee. He must sell his labor in order to meet the living expenses of himself and his family." The trade unions must be organizations for self-help and struggle in order "to change this system from the bottom up."

The working class in our country must still strive for the solution of the social question. We therefore join with the working class in the conduct of the struggle for the solution of the urgent topical problems which burden the lives of working people as well as the struggle for a socialist society free from crises, exploitation and oppression.

The work of factory groups is particularly decisive for the orientation of the working class. They must be supported by all other basic organizations, all leadership organizations and, in particular, kreis and bezirk leadership groups. It is crucial to turn from acknowledgment of this necessity to the appropriate action.

We must more definitely encourage all members of our party to take into account the fact that the all-round political activity of the factory group is of concern to the party as a whole, all its groups and leadership groups.

#### Constant Search for New Forms and Methods of Political Work

We should also judge the political leadership of all party groups by the criterion how the factory group work advances, how effective it is and in how far it actually represents the focus of the practical work of the party as a whole. By acquiring numerical strength for our membership and, at the same time, establishing as many factory groups as possible we are at one and the same time expanding our basis in the factories.

We are quite aware that the conditions for our work in the factories have changed and will continue to do so. The factory groups are constantly confronted with new problems and must cope with them in all their variety. We cannot provide a universal recipe for tackling them, but we will try to give answers to various questions.



We frequently discuss the matter of factory group work and its difficulties. Yet it often happens that we do not notice new possibilities quickly enough. We are always encountering problems arising from the production process and the organization of production. Technological developments advance relentlessly and constantly lead to more changes. That fact confronts us with new questions all the time, and these concern the all-round activities of factory groups. We know the problems arising for our colleagues from the fact of their virtual isolation in automated and fully mechanized jobs. Another example is presented by the problems concerning women and men at the assembly lines of the car industry. The workers have increasing difficulty in establishing contacts and understandings. But this is precisely why we must consider how we can become even more effective among the workers in present-day circumstances.

At the conference of the party secretariat with the chairmen of factory groups, held a few weeks ago, the comrades of the Opel-Bochum and VW-Hannover factory groups, for example, reported success in fully utilizing--despite these difficulties--all opportunities for discussions before and after working hours and also during the brief breaks, and combining the representation of the colleagues interests with explanations of our policies. The use of these methods was supplemented by regular work with the factory newsletter and the visible representation of the colleagues interests. They managed thus to recruit new members for their factory groups and strengthen their influence.

We need a constant search for new forms and methods of political work. No longer is a group of 15-20 workers employed on a cold rolling line. Only three colleagues now control the rolling line from widely spaced consoles. To get into some factory departments one now needs to wear a helmet with a distinctive color, enabling "supervisors" immediately to notice if someone is present in the department who is not actually working there.

In the majority of the major coporation factories possibilities for discussion are restricted even in breaks. Central locker rooms for hundreds of workers have been replaced by employee rest rooms for as few as two dozen colleagues in one department, and where thousands of workers used to walk through the factory gates, motorization has shrunk this figure to a few hundred.

The difficulties involve not so much the modern organization of production as the ratio of the strength of factory groups to the size of the personnel. The necessary incentives for discussion and the exchange of opinions are lacking, and so is the orientation to positions determined by the class interests of the workers. At the same time these circumstances make it far more difficult to champion the consolidation of the working class.

It is therefore imperative for us to be represented (and by more members) in all sectors. That alone is the decisive answer to the question how we as communists can do effective work in the working class in the conditions of modern production.

## Leadership Organizations at All Levels To Organize Effective Assistance

Despite all these difficulties we are pleased to note that our factory groups increasingly manage to cope with the considerable obstacles. We therefore emphasize the necessity of being aware of difficulties but not allowing them to be either an excuse for neglecting political work in the respective area or to serve as such.

We have already pointed out that the major factories and many residential neighborhoods in their vicinity are focal points of the working class. The growing demands on the work of our party in the working class no longer allow for generalities about orienting the party to greater activism in the factories. It will be imperative for the party, all its organizations and leadership bodies at all levels, to assist the work of the factory groups.

We must succeed in making this work the focus of practical party activities. Every resolution adopted, every measure decided on must simultaneously consider how the factory groups are to handle them. If especially we, the party leadership group, the bezirk and kreis leadership groups and their secretariats make this consideration the starting point of more effective support for the factory groups, we will also shed more light on the tasks of our party in the vital sphere of our work.

Our party must help the working class recognize its class situation, grasp the changeability of this situation by conscious, organized and united action and, for that purpose, orient itself to the revolutionary party of the working class, to our German Communist Party. Whether and how our comrades accomplish this task, the time needed for this process and the results it achieves--all this depends largely on the style and content as well as the quality of the political leadership of all our leadership groups. That puts a premium on the tenacity and persuasiveness of our party functionaries.

At the same time we must always deal with the question how better to enable our members in the factory groups in their capacity as communists--by active support of the factory union bodies--to translate into action the labor union resolutions benefiting the working class.

## Supporting the Work of the Factory Groups in the Neighborhoods

The improvement of the party's work includes the consideration how the factory groups in cooperation with the respective neighborhood and student groups may develop and carry out their political work in those workers neighborhoods where most of their colleagues reside. Often these are entire tracts, residential districts, even city districts which are virtual extensions of the respective corporation. Employers exploitation may well continue in the residential sphere by many kinds of links, for example by way of rents for company owned housing. Here the women and children of our colleagues experience at first hand the dependence on the factory. In addition the plant newspapers published by the corporations are usually mailed to the recipients,

so that the families of the colleagues are also directly exposed to corporate ideological influence.

The party commandment to strengthen the factory groups also requires organized political efforts in such neighborhoods. Here especially we must endeavor to concentrate our forces by cooperation between factory and neighborhood groups and, wherever possible, the support of student groups.

Factory groups will have many opportunities for taking action as active representatives of the interests of the working people, helped by other party groups whether in the factory or the neighborhood. It is imperative to arouse the interest of the colleagues in the factory as well as that of their wives and indeed their entire families, to familiarize them with the policy of our party, show them how and in what way our party differs in theory and practice from all bourgeois parties--and the SPD. Work so organized may well contribute to the gathering strength of the factory groups and bring new forcefulness to the neighborhood groups. This is how we find opportunities to help the SDAJ and Young Pioneers in their recruitment drive among the children of the working class, to advance in the political work with the wives of the workers.

There can be no doubt that party activism thus expressed will have its effect on parliamentary elections also. After all, what better opportunity for communists to demonstrate the link between the working people's interests with respect to the factory and the neighborhood, and to represent these interests in a broader framework.

Our Duisburg Kreis organization therefore resolved, following the appropriate discussions, upon long-term planning and already began to tackle it. Its target for the party proclamation and up to the municipal elections: To achieve visible and measurable progress in one major plant and the residential area in its vicinity, to achieve a much better ratio between the factory group and the personnel strength of the factory, to increase their influence and--in the long term--produce a breakthrough.

It will be important to ensure that here as elsewhere every key effort is collectively evaluated, the planning corrected if necessary, and all party groups notified of the results and experiences so that they may enjoy the successes they have helped to organize and achieve.

#### Knowledge of Facts Makes Effective Instruction Possible

Our factory groups will achieve success in representing the interests of their colleagues especially whenever they work according to plan and keep in mind certain problems from a medium or long-term aspect. All too often such planning fails to take into consideration the potential recruitment of new members as a result of successful actions.

A factory group in Krefeld, for example, used its factory newsletter to inform the personnel about the corporate management's intention to relocate various departments, something which endangered the further operation of the plant. The comrades stayed "on the ball" with respect to this problem. The factory group prepared and published an 8-point program to ensure job security and keep the plant open. The program elicited a positive response among the personnel. Steady work on the program, in the factory newsletter, in the course of discussions and talks within and without the plant satisfactorily strengthened the authority of the comrades in the factory. The workers frankly admitted that, without the communist disclosure of management intentions, it would certainly not have been possible to prevent further partial closures and mass dismissals. Yet at the time the factory group did not know how to utilize this favorable climate of opinion to strengthen the party. Now it has drawn the proper conclusions. The factory group aims to double its membership in the course of the implementation of the party proclamation. In the first 2 months it already managed to achieve a quarter of the target.

At the conference of the party leadership secretariat with kreis chairmen and the chairmen of certain factory groups Hamburg comrades reported the first successes of purposeful leadership in the Central Kreis and the port workers group. The gist of their evidence: A well defined and tenacious approach to these problems pays off.

Let us quote the statement of a woman comrade from an Oldenburg factory group, made 3 weeks ago at a central conference, because it provides an excellent example for the combative attitude of communists working in the factory: "I have been a party member for only 2 years. Before we had a few comrades in the factory but no factory group. Now we have a factory group which has grown very nicely, although we are still not satisfied. We work quite well with our plant newsletter. And we are distinguished by more than yellow paper from Maoist groups which try to infiltrate the factory from the outside. We are distinguished especially by our correct working class policy. In 1976 we published 17 issues of our plant newsletter. And yet something else is even more important. All comrades have made themselves known as communists in the plant. Whenever our colleagues have any problems, whenever they need help and want to talk to communists, they know exactly whom to approach. We are all known to be communists. That has helped us in the plant and also contributed to our success at the municipal elections."

The examples quoted show that the work of instruction, the actual help of our party leaderships from the overall party leadership groups via bezirk and kreis leadership groups down to basic group leaderships represents the most essential element of political leadership.

The kreis leadership groups in particular must confront the question: How do we help our factory groups and their leaderships? Are we sufficiently insistent in urging our neighborhood and student groups to achieve effective cooperation with the factory groups, do political work with an eye to these

plants in which we are not yet represented by factory groups? Is it really enough from time to time to attend committee or membership meetings? Is it not equally necessary to meet with the factory group chairmen as the decisive political functionaries at the base, regularly discuss our politics and determine how their groups, despite all difficulties, may contribute to the successful implementation of party policies and resolutions, create the prerequisites for success in the implementation of the party proclamation?

Great efforts must also be made for instruction to be carried out in the course of a reasonably long period of time and by the same comrade delegated to do so by the superior leadership group. He will know the group and its problems, its strength and potential. Proper knowledge of the facts facilitates effective instruction.

Marxist Education Provides the Ability Successfully To Represent Class Interests

If we analyze them carefully the agenda and results of group leadership and membership meetings provide a mirror image of the help given by superior leaderships. The quality of a membership meeting normally reflects the quality of the work of the group leadership. Given their specific sphere of operations it is quite normal for factory groups in the course of the discussion to deal with many factory problems.

In order effectively to represent the interests of the colleagues at the plant it is vital to know these problems. Yet the work of the factory groups in the factory must not stop at the representation of this or that sectional interest. They must keep in mind the all-round interests of the working class including the interests of foreign workers. It will be necessary, therefore, to carry on politico-ideological discussions in the membership meetings of the factory groups, explain party policy and take care that as many comrades as possible attend the meeting and say what is on their minds.

After all, the discussions must help our members consider the factory problems in the political context. That is how the comrades will appreciate the ideals of party policies and resolutions. That is how they are enabled to make the representation of their factory colleagues the nexus of their political activism, fully visible and convincing for all. From that aspect the struggle to strengthen the party in the factories includes the need for the thorough improvement of Marxist educational work in the factory group. We have much leeway to make up here.

We are quite aware that many comrades in the factories rarely pick up a book or educational leaflet because they come home exhausted from shift work, the increasing pressure for greater output, the steadily rising speed of operations--after which they still have to do their labor union and party chores during their leisure hours. They feel pressured. Yet at the same time many are dissatisfied because they feel they are making too little progress with their party work.

It is not always possible immediately to observe the success of our own work nor actually to measure it. But we are duty bound to help just these comrades to appreciate that, by the steady acquisition and expansion of Marxist knowledge, they themselves expand their potential for greater success in their work in and with the factory group. Growing knowledge spurs willingness and develops the need for cooperating in the successes of our era's great movement at the very point at which one is socially active as a communist.

The political leadership work of all leadership groups must help overcome in the not too distant future the circumstance that factory groups still tend to hold educational evenings at irregular intervals only, and that they fail persistently enough to plan attendance at courses of instructions held at the Karl Liebknecht School.

We remind the leadership groups of the MAB and their valuable work for Marxist workers education. Is it sufficiently utilized by the party? We do have some excellent examples of beginnings made to implement the resolution of the Bonn party congress concerning the search for and implementation of specific forms of educational work for comrades in factory groups, especially factory group functionaries.

In Munich and Mannheim, Frankfurt and Hamburg, for example, special classes are held for factory workers. These are examples which merit generalization. Comrades qualified to carry out this task are available in all bezirks and kreises; they merely have to be approached. They will heed the appeal of the party and help our factory groups at this most important front of the class war. The same applies to weekend courses for factory groups. Such courses have long been organized in Bremen, Leverkusen, Ludwigshafen and Northern Bavaria.

Participating factory workers have always praised the content and style of these courses. This way it is possible to organize effective and well trained support for the educational work of the factory groups.

Another point: The daily externalized work of communists, the tireless struggle in the class conflict for the present and future interests of the working people--that is the school which trains and educates communists and makes them conscious and indomitable fighters.

Our strength lies in the power of our scientific ideology, the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the fact that we are an indivisible element of the working class. That is why every communist must endeavor to familiarize himself with these teachings and deepen his ideological knowledge by attendance at educational events, instructional courses at our party school and by the independent study of Marxist writings.

By improving the educational work of the factory groups we help the comrades in the plants develop as communists, become fighters for their own class and

assimilate the ability by their demeanor and commitment to gain the confidence, sympathy and support of ever larger sectors of the working class.

#### The Party Statute and the Work in the Factory Groups

To strengthen the factory groups it is also necessary for all leadership groups to enforce the provision of the party statute stipulating that membership in the factory group must take precedence. An investigation by the secretariat of the Rhineland-Westphalian bezirk leadership group has shown that far too few comrades who work in factories are actually organized in factory groups.

Nor is it admissible for comrades who work in a plant not to be members of the factory group at their place of work. We do have comrades who work in a factory but live in the political sphere of another kreis organization and hold membership in a neighborhood group there. A kreis leader who knows that such comrades are organized in neighborhood groups of his sphere of responsibility should make every effort to persuade these comrades of the necessity for assuming membership and cooperating in the factory group.

It will be imperative to overcome obstacles resulting from the "loss" of a member or even worse group functionary. When all circumstances are taken into consideration, judgment must be given in favor of the factory group.

In this context we would like to make an observation on the question of collective factory groups. These combine at kreis level comrades from a certain type of business or industry if they are the only party members at their places of work. Many such groups issue factory newsletters.

These collective factory groups serve the aim gradually and with the assistance of neighborhood groups in the areas of the respective factories to build up independent factory groups. Such independent factory groups emerged in Bremen Kreis from the collective factory group Metal-South.

We consider collective factory groups desirable with the proviso that they are of a transitional nature and that the ultimate goal is never lost from sight: The establishment of new factory groups within a reasonable period of time.

We must at all times remind our leadership groups to keep in mind the new comrades in our ranks. New comrades must enjoy the special assistance and support of the group leadership as well as of kreis leaderships. It is a great mistake for comrades with experience in party work and the class conflict not to be sufficiently attentive to such new comrades. One does not become a communist before entering the party, for that one has to be within the party. And that is a developmental process which lasts a long time, a lifetime even.

## Publicity, Factory Newsletters--Sphere of Factory Newsletters

Publicity offers the factory groups a wide and independent sphere. The most effective form successfully developed by our factory groups is the work with factory newsletters. The corporate bosses hate those newsletters. All the hostile political forces must reckon with them. Factory-related newsletters are increasingly developing into a recognized link between the factory personnel and the DKP factory groups. Despite these successes we are quite aware that considerable numbers of factory groups and some factory group readerships are not yet collectively and systematically working on and with the factory newsletters.

Distribution of the factory newsletter is often handed over to a neighborhood or student group. Difficulties also arise in the distribution at the factory gates, due to the motorized arrival and departure of the colleagues. On the other hand we have many examples of newsletters turning up in the factory, taken by colleagues and passed from hand to hand for wide distribution. There is increasing use of the opportunity for distributing factory newsletters in selected working class neighborhoods in the vicinity of the plants. Frequently they are simply put in the mailboxes. We would suggest to try and find out whether, by drawing on the cooperation of factory, neighborhood and student groups, it might be possible to hand over the newsletter personally to at least one family in an apartment building. This would provide opportunities for carrying on informal chats, obtaining information, making new contacts and increasing links to the party.

Only a few factory groups carry out informational censuses in the neighborhoods of their factory colleagues. Factory groups which fail to do so rob themselves of the opportunity of talking to their colleagues outside the factory also and to give evidence of the party's representation of working people's interests.

We believe that the experiences of a factory group in a major plant in Bremen on such informational censuses in neighborhoods have vividly illustrated the connection between factory and extra-factory party action.

And what about small-scale meetings such as regular lunch groups, workers discussions, "Sunday round tables on everyday problems," and so on--in the bar at the factory gates?

Experience teaches us that small factory-related meetings can usefully be carried on in bars close to the plants. On the other hand experienced comrades report over and over again that the success rate is greater if such semi-social meetings take place in bars located in working class neighborhoods. The preparation and conduct of such talks and meetings should be the joint duty of the factory group and respective neighborhood group. The children's festivals organized in factory-owned housing tracts during the Bundestag election campaign by factory and neighborhood groups were most effective. On the one hand we achieved a more trustful relationship with the



colleagues and their wives, on the other many opportunities arose for strengthening our socialist children's organization, the Young Pioneers, especially in working class neighborhoods.

Some factory groups have also recorded pleasing results with public events of another kind, such as soccer tournaments for departmental teams. One factory group in Bochum, for instance, organized two such events with 14 months. Coupled with political propaganda this resulted in the distinct growth of the party group. In addition some wives of comrades thereupon became party members and--so the comrades reported--eased their own political labors.

As demonstrated by many examples the factory groups have ample opportunity for independent publicity work, especially when such work radiates into the factories and the surrounding working class neighborhoods. Cooperation between factory, neighborhood and student groups has proved effective. It works best where comrades of the factory group leadership attend the leadership discussions of neighborhood and student groups, and vice versa.

In our opinion it will be most important now to generalize the tried and tested methods of work with the masses among factory personnel and their families in the working class neighborhoods, introducing them to the practice of the party as a whole.

For the ongoing improvement of the factory groups publicity work it will also be necessary for the party leadership groups information service and UNSERE ZEIT constantly to ponder how the comrades in the various fighting situations can better be helped by the provision of suitable arguments and data.

Young Colleagues Judge Us by the Way We Deal With Their Demands

The selfless work of our comrades, especially at the class front of the factories, will ultimately lead the masses of blue and white collar workers to recognize, despite the hostile climate and campaign of calumny against our party and our policies, that our struggle for the unity of action of the working class does not represent just a tactical maneuver, but that it is the basic principle of our political action.

Many comrades, male and female, work as factory councilors, spokesmen and youth representatives on behalf of their colleagues. They deserve the respect and help of the party as a whole, the support of all leadership groups, in recognition of the difficult and complex work which they--as known communists--selflessly contribute on behalf of blue and white collar workers.

The prospects for our factory groups, the expansion of their radius of action, are very definitely governed by their success in developing relationships with the young people in the factories.

The young colleagues judge our comrades primarily by the criterion whether championship of the demands of youth is a permanent element of factory group

work and of the factory newsletter. It is therefore imperative for a DKP member to be the colleague who is always there to give a helping hand to young people and champion their demands. We must also ensure that the SDAJ has the full support of the entire party in its increased emphasis on working with young people in the factories.

There has been an increase in the incidence of young factory councilors and spokesmen. They are often among the most resolute representatives of their colleagues interests. Many of them have gained their first experiences as youth representatives in factories, and as members of youth committees in the labor unions.

The fact that we are again stressing the need for increasing support for the work of factory groups, aid and support for our most important basic organizations, as a task of the party as a whole--all this underlines the orientation adopted with the party proclamation: To strengthen the membership and influence of the party especially in the working class.

These are linked and reciprocal tasks, depending upon one another: More members bring more influence--more influence brings more members. To get this moving as a process of demonstrable advance is not--and we are quite aware of it--all that easy. But provided we maintain our common purpose and collective strength we will get this process of strengthening the party in the working class under way with all our strength, and using all possible opportunities.

We can start from the fact that, at the annual general meetings, the party groups zeroed in on the successful implementation of the Max Reimann proclamation and resolved upon the appropriate measures. It will, however, need constant study and, where necessary, appropriate corrections to make sure that all groups and leaderships maintain the correct and factory-related orientation.

Changing the Balance of Power in Favor of the Workers by Strengthening the DKP

Our foes attempt--with an eye on the next round of factory council elections --to belittle the role of the communists as active representatives of employee interests. On the other hand they consider the work of the communists extremely dangerous to big capital.

According to a DPA report of 2 February last Gerhart Baum (FDP), parliamentary state secretary at the Federal Ministry of the Interior, replied to a question by CDU deputy Claus Jaeger to the effect that the DKP had 300 factory groups and published 400 factory newsletters. He assessed the proportion of communists in factory councils as "in excess of 1,000." Some time ago Springer's WELT estimated it at 10,000!

We have no intention whatsoever to quarrel with the CDU, FDP or even the SPD--least of all with Springer--about figures and percentages. Let them continue speculating. Because in this matter also they ultimately reckon without the working class. We know quite well that factory employees are definitely inclined to elect communists to the representative organs, despite the considerable efforts of big capital to prevent this. The reason is their awareness of communists as active and resolute representatives of their interests.

Our enemies carefully watch the development of our party and especially our factory groups. The "Institute for German Business" lately presented yet another study with the revealing title "Something Must Be Done Now." This asserts that only the DKP among all left groups in factories has shown decided growth, and that the DKP is now trying to achieve a breakthrough in the development of class consciousness.

The study advises the bosses to deprive the "left groups of the running boards by which they enter the factory gates." This remark seems to indicate that this employers institute puts a more favorable appraisal on the opportunities for the recruitment of new party members in the factories than we do ourselves. Yet we are objective enough to know what can be done and what we might achieve if we employ our very best efforts. We know it will not be easy to accomplish the target set by the Max Reimann proclamation, but we also know that it can be done.

Ever since our party was constituted all our party congresses and many party leadership group meetings have been concerned with the problem how more effectively to make the work in the factories the focus of our general party activities.

Today's meeting must examine the present status of our efforts and develop new ideas how we can strengthen and further develop party action in this sphere and make it the common task of the party as a whole.

The quality and quantity of aid for factory groups will be the criterion by which to judge the political leadership work of all party executives.

Today's party leadership group meeting will further advance the accomplishment of the tasks assigned us by the Bonn party congress: To change the balance of power in favor of our country's working class by the all-round strengthening of the German Communist Party.

To the extent that we succeed in making the solution of this problem the focus of practical party action, we will advance in the Federal Republic for the benefit of the working people.

## Appeal of the Fifth Party Leadership Group Meeting

With Zest and Energy, Fantasy and Good Ideas to the Festival of the Workers Press, the 1977 UNSERE ZEIT Popular Festival

From 1-3 July next the festival of the workers press, the 1977 UNSERE ZEIT popular festival, will take place in the mining city of Recklinghausen.

The Recklinghausen DKP will prove itself an excellent host and, by way of the festival, raise the international reputation of its city.

It is the festival of national affection and international solidarity, of progressive democratic culture and political debate, of good entertainment. The festival of joy in living and of sports. The festival of low prices.

The festival has an excellent tradition and a good name. Many people from all parts of the country say with every justification: Let us go there, let us celebrate together with the communists, let us see what they and their newspaper, UNSERE ZEIT, have to offer and tell us. They have never been disappointed.

That is the very reason why the CDU, CSU, FDP and SPD are trying every dirty trick in the book to obstruct the popular festival.

At its fifth meeting this DKP party leadership group appeals to all members and friends of our party, all basic organizations and executives: Let us all prepare the festival of the workers press, the 1977 UNSERE ZEIT popular festival in Recklinghausen, with all our zest and energy, fantasy and good ideas.

We have tremendous plans for this year. The Max Reimann proclamation is to serve to strengthen our party, our factory groups, neighborhood groups and student groups, expand our influence on the masses.

We can achieve this impressively by, especially, the people-related, broad-based and attractive preparation and conduct of our festival. The regional and Land characteristics of all parts of the Federal Republic must increasingly be expressed in folk art and culture, that is by the performance of working people.

Let us recruit visitors to the 1977 UNSERE ZEIT popular festival from 1-3 July. Let us do so by intensifying the sales drives for UNSERE ZEIT, recruiting new readers and subscribers for UNSERE ZEIT; by children's festivals and effective public events. Let us interest colleagues, neighbors and fellow students as well as friends:

All together to the festival of the workers press, the 1977 UNSERE ZEIT popular festival, all together to Recklinghausen!

# Appointment of DKP Program Commission

The party leadership group of the German Communist Party appoints a commission to prepare the draft program of the German Communist Party (program commission). Its members are:

Herbert Mies, head of the program commission

Hermann Gautier  
Jupp Angenfort  
Kurt Bachmann  
Martha Buschmann  
Heinz Czymek  
Gerd Deumlich  
Willi Gerns  
Harne Harms  
Manfred Kapluck  
Marianne Konze  
Franz Xaver Kroetz  
Beate Landefeld  
Heinz Lang

Otto Meyerling  
Achim Mueller  
Max Schaefer  
Jupp Schleifstein  
Robert Steigerwald  
Herbert Stiefvater  
Werner Stuermann  
Ellen Weber  
Jan Wienecke  
Heinz Woetzel  
Otto Zimpelmann  
Secretary to the Commission: Kurt  
Steinhaus

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CSO: 3103

END